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upon the imperfections and cruelties of our industrial system, it succeeds in attracting larger numbers only by competing with productive occupations. Here is one more point of contact between plutocracy and militarism: to produce more natural enlistment you have only to produce more industrial unemployment. Our governors do not object to large extensions of direct state employment, so long as the men so employed are taken away from the sphere of citizenship and domestic agitation, and are paid by the country to extend the plutocratic regime in distant lands. To apply the same process to productive industry—to hire gangs of unemployed to reclaim marshlands and plant forests, for instance—would, of course, be an altogether different matter!

A wholesale improvement of the soldier's lot at the cost of taxpayer and industrial employer is the only military alternative to compulsory service. But—and here is the crux of the situation—whether produced by monetary temptation or by legislative coercion, this increase of the non-productive out of the body of the productive classes spells disaster to our position as a competing industrial nation, and, apart from foreign competition, it can only be pursued up to a certain point. It means an extension of parasitism. The glittering shell grows and grows as the prisoned oyster dies within.—*London Concord.*

## A New Patriotism.

BY GEORGE W. HOSS, LL.D.

In all ages, patriotism, love of country, has been honored as the highest civic virtue. The mode of manifesting this patriotism has chiefly, often solely, been in taking up arms in behalf of country. Often little distinction has been made as to whether the fighting were to be done in the noble cause of liberty, or in the dishonorable cause of conquest, or the more dishonorable cause of strife between rulers. The justice or injustice of the cause usually has but little place in the minds of the assailant or the assailed. With little thought the rank and file are swept on by the mad spirit of war and the cry of patriotism.

Thus under the delusion of a supposed duty, the soldier rushes forth to murder the man, or men, against whom he can have no personal ill-will, yet exultantly feeling that the more of these he slaughters the more he is a patriot, and the more he merits the commendation of his countrymen. If he be a commander and can capture a fort, sink a ship, burn a city or pile the battlefield with the bodies of the slain, the purer the patriotism and the larger the honors awarded it. These honors are panegyrics, medals, statues, houses, lands or moneys, and, in some cases, the highest offices in the gift of the people. More than once in this country the presidency of the United States has been given to men of moderate merit, purely on account of their military record.

All this, and more, in the name and glamor of *patriotism*—*bloody patriotism, war, wholesale murder*. Versus all this, we respectfully submit for consideration

### A NEW PATRIOTISM.

In this we desire to see if the patriotic citizen cannot find some other way of manifesting his love of country than through the horrors of war. We are glad to be

able to place in the forefront of the exponents of this new patriotism the distinguished name of George Washington.

In his first inaugural address, Washington used these noble words: "When I was first honored with a call into the service of my country, then on the eve of an arduous struggle for its liberty, the light in which I contemplated my duties required that I renounce all pecuniary compensation." Then he magnanimously added that he desired that there be no provision made for pecuniary compensation in this new office.

Here is the service of eight years in the most arduous and most responsible office in the nation, and without compensation. Is not this patriotism, and patriotism without blood in it? Here is a love of country noble, glorious, a patriotism that, if found now, would amaze this highly patriotic (?) age.

Fifteen years of service of country without compensation! Such service now would cost the government half a million. Noble as that is, it does not stand wholly alone. Happily, we have had other examples in lesser degrees. Just now we have the example of Professor Frye, who proposes to give five years of service free as superintendent of the public schools in Cuba. Already he has made provision for opening three thousand schools, which will carry knowledge and blessings to over a hundred thousand children. Is not this a patriotism infinitely more worthy than that manifested in leading an army to murder one's fellowmen?

Second, while public office furnishes a favorable condition for serving one's country, it is by no means a necessity. As we see it, the private citizen serves his country no less really. This can be done in nearly every sphere of life, but in this paper we notice only the field of invention.

Who will estimate the value to the country of Eli Whitney's cotton gin, Fulton's steamboat, Bell's telephone, Morse's telegraph or Field's submarine cable, and hundreds of other devices that are blessing this country and the world?

As a type, take Morse in his labors, disappointment and poverty, while developing his system of telegraphy. Said he to a friend, "I have not a farthing and have to borrow money to pay for my meals." Notwithstanding this, he struggled on in his philanthropic work for years; then for years more in pleading with Congress to make a small appropriation to help him make the experiment. At length, in the closing hours of the session in March, 1843, \$30,000 was appropriated to his use. In 1844 the apparatus was completed, the wires stretched from Washington to Baltimore, and the glorious and reverential words flashed over them, "Behold what God hath wrought."

The invention was a success, and the nation and the world have been reaping the benefits from that hour to this; benefits greater than blowing up forts or sinking navies. But what did the people and Congress do in return for this great work? Nothing. His case exemplifies the law that "a prophet is not without honor save in his own country." But versus this neglect of his own country, the representatives of ten of the leading nations of Europe met at Paris in 1858 and voted him 400,000 francs.

When men shall get away from the hallucinations of the war spirit, they will be able to realize that there is greater honor and infinitely greater blessings in the bloodless victories of peace than in the bloody triumphs of war.

Noting a moment further the subject of inventions and in the single field of electricity, we ask the reader to consider the work of a Franklin, who took the electricity out of the clouds; of a Morse, who sent it speaking over a continent; of a Field, who sent it singing under the sea; and then to ask himself if, within the history of the race, one warrior has ever done for his country what these have done for theirs.

In application of the above, let some of our worthy and would-be-patriotic citizens, instead of inciting the war spirit that they may get fame as commanders, take some position in the civil service and perform their duties as true lovers of their country, and without compensation, and the voice of praise will come from all true lovers of peace. Again, let the jingoes, burning with belligerent patriotism, ready to shout war from the platform and through the yellow journals, turn their attention to inventions, internal improvement, the uplifting of the masses, relief of the poor, the extermination of the great evils that affect society, and the world will in time award them their due meed of honor as patriots, philanthropists.

Yes, you say, "in time," but when? When the world grows better and wiser. But still when? When the new patriotism is adopted, a "consummation devoutly to be wished." Alas! alas! when?

In my humble judgment, this time will come when, and only when, the middle and humbler classes of citizens, who always form the rank and file of the army, shall say: 1. We will not engage in the slaughter of our fellowmen until the last means has been exhausted for securing a peaceful settlement of difficulties. 2. We will not engage in it even then, save in the defense of liberty or of the life of the nation. 3. We will never engage in war for the wicked purpose of conquest, even for mines of gold or beds of diamonds, nor for the more wicked purpose of appeasing the wrath of kings, emperors or other potentates.

This done, and war will cease, war patriotism will have come to an end, and the white-robed victories of Peace will be more honored than the blood-stained victories of war.

WICHITA, KAN.

## The Enforcement of the Decisions of an International Court.

The following paper, by LeRoy Parker of Buffalo, N. Y., is a reprint from the Report of the Eighteenth Annual Conference of the International Law Association, held at Buffalo, N. Y., Aug. 31 to Sept. 2, 1899. The paper was presented to the Association and referred to the Executive Committee. Though we do not agree with Mr. Parker as to the necessity of some method of enforcing arbitral decisions, believing, as the history of actual arbitrations indicates, that such decisions will always be obeyed, yet we are glad to let our readers see Mr. Parker's thought.

"It needs no preamble to introduce the single point connected with the subject of international arbitration which I desire to present to you, that is, the enforcement of arbitral decisions. Through most of recorded time the voice of the holiest of men, of prince and prelate, of philosopher and statesman, of philanthropist and warrior, of diplomat and man of action and affairs, has spoken in favor of universal peace, and has condemned the warring of man with man. You are all familiar both with the arguments that have made for peace through all the ages, as well as with the efforts to induce nations to war no more. Leagues, congresses, and conferences have met, debated and highly resolved that there should be no more war. So universal has become the sentiment in favor of peace that no ruler would to-day dare to advocate, as an abstract proposition, the strife of arms rather than the conditions of peace for his people. But, after centuries of earnest endeavor in this behalf, nations still war against nations or rest upon an establishment of arms, the cost and maintenance of which are utterly beyond calculation. Methods for the settlement of war-breeding disputes have been planned, and have been formally adopted among nations, but without lasting effect. Their binding force has been like ropes of sand. Leagues, conventions, treaties have alike been broken whenever interest dictated.

"Honor has not compelled the observance of obligations among nations any more than it has among men. Yet men suffer penalties at the hands of the law for its violation. The judgments of courts of law are enforced by law. Law would be impotent without some provision for its enforcement.

"So universal has the feeling grown that the powers will not observe the law of treaties or conventions that the world shrugs its shoulders and smiles at the attempt to substitute arbitration for arms, with the expectation that the power decided against will in all cases obey the decision of the arbitral tribunal. It says: 'How Utopian is that court of arbitration whose decisions may or may not be obeyed at a mere caprice, but which cannot be enforced?'

"The late conference at The Hague, after making provision for voluntary arbitration between nations, made no provision for the carrying out of the decree or award of the arbitrators. The only reference to this point in the 'Project of convention for the peaceful regulation of international conflicts,' which was accepted by the conference and is to be submitted to the different powers represented there for their approval, is contained in Article 18, which provides that 'an agreement to arbitrate implies the obligation to submit in good faith to the decision of the arbitral tribunal.' This is substantially repeated in Article 31.

"This is not enough. Provision should be made for some method of enforcing such decisions. The powers having once adopted the principle of arbitration and provided a suitable tribunal, and any two or more having submitted their controversy for decision, the decrees of that tribunal should be made potent by some proper mode of compelling obedience to them if obedience is refused.

"The principle of arbitration may fairly be said to have received the recognition and indorsement of every